

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----077441 221309Z /42

O 221200Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7313

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5066

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, CENTO, XD, US
SUBJECT: FOREIGN "MINISTER" AGHA SHAHI'S CALL ON THE SECRETARY
AT SSOD-25 MAY.

REF: (A) STATE 125800 (B) ISLAMABAD 4980 (C) KABUL 4018
(D) TEHRAN 4547 (E) DELHI 7925

1. YOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN "MINISTER" AGHA SHAHI ON
25 MAY PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR AN UPDATE
ON HIS GOVERNMENT'S CONCERNS GROWING OUT OF THE AFGHAN
COUP; IT PROVIDES EQUALY AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME STRAIGHT
TALK ABOUT OUR POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN, OUR CONCERN FOR
REGIONAL STABILITY, AND OUR DESIRE--AS WELL AS OUR
ABILITY--TO BE RESPONSIVE TO PAKISTAN'S CONCERNs.

2. PAKISTAN'S ANXIETIES: AS NOTED IN REF B. THE
COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN AFGHANISTAN HAS BEEN TRAUMATIC FOR
PAKISTAN; THE BUFFER WHICH THEY COUNTED ON TO SCREEN OFF
DIRECT SOVIET OR EVEN SOVIET-PROXY ACTIVITIES IN THEIR
IMMEDIATE BORDER AREAS IS GONE. THEY HAVE TURNED TO US
(AND TO CENTO) TO ASK, "WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO --IN YOUR
OWN INTEREST AS WELL AS OURS-- ABOUT

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THIS TURNABOUT IN COMMUNIST/NON-COMMUNIST FORTUNES IN
THIS PART OF THE WORLD"?

3. THERE IS NOT ONLY A VASTLY DEEPENED SENSE OF INSECURITY
IN PAKISTAN, BUT THERE IS AN EMERGING CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE
IN US-PAK RELATIONS, BASED PARTIALLY ON A PERCEPTION HERE
THAT WE ARE MINIMIZING THE DANGERS TO PAKISTAN INHERENT

IN THE KABUL COUP. SHAHI WILL WANT TO USE HIS MEETING WITH YOU TO EMPHASIZE THE DEADLY SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH PAKISTAN NOW CONFRONTS THE PROSPECT OF A SOVIET SATELLITE ON ITS WESTERN BORDER, WHILE EMPHASIZING AS WELL HIS CONTINUING CONCERN ABOUT WHAT PAKISTAN SEES AS A RELATED DOWNTURN IN RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

4. SHAHI WILL BE LOOKING HARD FOR SOME TANGIBLE SIGN THAT THE US TAKES SERIOUSLY THE AFGHAN TURNABOUT AND ITS REGIONAL AND EAST-WEST IMPLICATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, HE WILL BE LOOKING FOR SOME SIGN THAT HIS REQUEST FOR F-5ES, WHICH PRE-DATES THE KABUL COUP, IS RECEIVING ACTIVE ATTENTION.

5. OUR RESPONSE: IN REAFFIRMING OUR INTEREST IN AND COMMITMENT TO PAKISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WE SHOULD USE THE OPPORTUNITY (1) TO DISPEL ANY DOUBTS THE GOP MAY HAVE THAT WE FAIL TO VIEW EVENTS IN KABUL WITH SUFFICIENT CONCERN, AND (2) TO BRACE SHAHI ON THE CONCERN WE HAVE ABOUT PAKISTAN'S PRESENT COURSE AND THE IMPACT IT HAS ON OUR ABILITY TO MATCH OUR DESIRE TO HELP. CHIEF AMONG THESE ARE:

(A) THE REPROCESSING ISSUE: GEN. ZIA HAS RECENTLY PUBLICLY REITERATED HIS COMMITMENT TO A REPROCESSING PLANT. WHILE WE HAVE LONG RECOGNIZED THAT CANCELLATION

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WILL HAVE TO COME FROM PARIS, NOT ISLAMABAD, WE NEED TO REMIND THE GOP OF THE IMPACT THE ISSUE HAS ON OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE HELP WHICH THEY NEED AND WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO PROVIDE.

(B) THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION: WE COMMENDED GEN. ZIA'S INITIAL PROMISE OF QUICK RECOURSE TO ELECTIONS AND LAMENT THE CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THEM. WHILE MANY ACTIONS OF THE MLA ARE LEGITIMATE MEASURES AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD OVERTURN IT BY ILLEGAL MEANS, RECOURSE TO PREVENTIVE DETENTION, RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ASSEMBLY, AND USE OF THE LASH HAVE AROUSED UNDERSTANDABLE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN.

(C) THE NARCOTICS SITUATION: DESPITE GEN. ZIA'S PERSONAL INTERVENTION, NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE TO CLOSE DOWN THE HEROIN LABS IN THE TRIBAL AREAS, AND WE ARE CONCERNED--GIVEN THE BUMPER OPIUM POPPY CROP--THAT THE SITUATION WILL GROW WORSE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

6. SHAHI SHOULD BE TOLD FACE-TO-FACE THAT THE US DOES CARE ABOUT THIS REGION, ABOUT REGIONAL STABILITY AND

SECURITY, AS WELL AS ABOUT THE BROADER EAST-WEST IMPLICATIONS OF THE KABUL COUP. HE SHOULD ALSO BE REASSURED FORCEFULLY THAT WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN. BUT HE SHOULD BE TOLD WITH EQUAL CANDOR THAT PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR US POLICY AND PROGRAMS IN THIS AREA IS CONDITIONED BY SUCH ISSUES AS THE REPROCESSING PLANT, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND NARCOTICS:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5066

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

(A) IF PAKISTAN PERSISTS WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT, OUR HANDS WILL BE TIED BY LAW FROM PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MILITARY TRAINING, AND BY A CLIMATE WHICH WILL MAKE POSITIVE ACTION ON MILITARY SALES DIFFICULT;

(B) POSITIVE MOVEMENT TOWARD ELECTIONS WILL ALLAY OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC CONCERNS ABOUT POSSIBLE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN; POPULAR GOVERNMENT MIGHT ALSO IMPROVE PAKISTAN'S SENSE OF SECURITY FROM WITHIN;

(C) WE WOULD ALSO HOPE THAT PAKISTAN WOULD GET SERIOUS ABOUT CONTROLLING NARCOTICS, SO THAT THIS QUESTION WILL NOT ALSO BECOME A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

(D) WE WILL BE LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO MANIFEST OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. WE WILL WANT TO BE SUPPORTIVE ON PL 480, BUT IN THIS AND OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS BROADER ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MILITARY SALES, OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND WILL BE CONDITIONED BY

THE PROGRESS MADE IN AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS.

(E) IN THE MEANTIME WE WILL GIVE URGENT ATTENTION
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TO OUR REVIEW OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE KABUL COUP FOR
AREA SECURITY AND STABILITY AND WAYS IN WHICH THE PARTIES
CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE US, SHOULD RESPOND TO THESE
IMPLICATIONS. WE URGE THE REGIONAL POWERS, I.E. IRAN,
PAKISTAN, AND INDIA, TO DO THE SAME AND TO SHARE IDEAS
AND IMPRESSIONS AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH US.

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